

THE ⁴
S P E E C H

Of His Highness the
LORD PROTECTOR,

MADE
To both Houses of PARLIAMENT at
their first meeting, on Thursday the 27th
of JANUARY, 1659.

As also the
S P E E C H
OF THE

Right Honourable NATHANIEL Lord
FIENNES, one of the Lord Keepers
of the Great Seal of ENGLAND,
made at the same time.

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My Lords and Gentlemen,



Believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected some moneths since to have seen this great Assembly at this time, in this place, in peace; considering the great and unexpected Change which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God to make in the midst of us: I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And therefore it will become both you and me, in the first place, as to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of His Judgments; so to acknowledge Him in His goodness to these Lands, in that He hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late Highness his life, and that of the Nations peace to have been in one day.

Peace was one of the Blessings of my Fathers Government; a mercy after so long a Civil War, and in the midst of so great Division which that War bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a People in so great a measure.

The Cause of God, and these Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition; The Archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his Bow abode in strength, and the Arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himself, he died full of dayes, spent in great and fore travel; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his naturall strength abated, as it was said of *Moses*, he was serviceable even to the last.

As to these Nations, he left them in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at home: all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* dwelling safely every man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, from *Dan* even to *Beerseba*.

He is gone to Rest, and we are entred into his Labours; and if the Lord hath still a Blessing for these Lands (as I trust He hath) as our Peace hath been lengthned-out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harvest of what his late Highness hath sown, and laid the foundation of.

For my own part, being by the Providence of God, and the Disposition of the Law, my Fathers Successor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the Publick good to call a Parliament of the Three Nations, now united and conjoynd together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my Trust, but to my Principles, to govern these Nations by the Advice of my two Houses of Parliament; I find it asserted in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, (which is the Corner-stone of this Building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the Chief Magistrate, in whose Advice both he and these Nations may be most safe and happy.* I can assure you I have that esteem of them: And as I have made it the first Act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of you, by the Answers that I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these Nations.

You are come up from your several Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes

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Tribes, and with hearts (I perswade my self) to consult together their good : I can say I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design , but the maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both Civil and Christian, of these Nations ; which I shall alwayes make the Measure and Rule of my Government , and be ready to spend my life for.

We have Summoned you up at this time to let you know the state of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them : And I believe a Parliament was never Summoned upon a more important occasion.

It is true, as I have told you , We are, through the goodness of God, at this time in Peace ; but it is not thus with us because we have no Enemies : there are enough both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our Peace, were it in their powers, or should it at any time come into their powers.

It will be becoming your Wisdoms to consider of the securing of our Peace against those , who, we all know, are , and ever will be our implacable Enemies ; what the means of doing this are , I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you , That the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, are true and faithfull to the Peace and good Interest of these Nations , and it will be found so , and that they are a consisting Body, and usefull for any good ends ; and if they were not the best Army in world, you would have heard of inconveniencies, by reason of the great Arrear of Pay which is now due unto them , whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities : But you shall have a particular account of their Arrears , and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon , in some speedy and effectuall way. And this being matter of Money, I recommend it particularly to the House of Commons.

You have , you know, a War with *Spain*, carried on by the advice of Parliament ; He is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary , both for the honour and safety of these Nations, that that War be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the Constitution of affairs in all our neighbour Countreys, and round about us (as well friends as enemies) are very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea , and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own State and Interest.

Great and powerfull Fleets are preparing to be set forth into these Seas,

Seas, and considerable Armies of severall Nations and Kings are now disputing for the Mastery of the *Sound* with the adjacent Islands and Countreys; among which is the Roman Emperor, with other Popish States; I need not tell you of what Consequence these things are to this State.

We have already interposed in these Affairs, in such manner as we found it necessary for the interest of *England*; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that this State may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

The other things that are to be said, I shall refer to my Lord Keeper *Fiennes*, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

And first, I recommend to your care the People of God in these Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

Secondly, The good and necessary work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Administration of Justice, that profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that Righteousness and Justice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the Protestant cause abroad, which seems at this time to be in some danger, having great and powerfull Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe that the old English zeal to that cause is still among us.

Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will in all your Debates maintain and conserve Love and Unity among your selves, that therein you may be the pattern of the Nation, who have sent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wisdom and Peace may be among you: and this shall also be my prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy Parliament.

F I N I S.

The



THE
S P E E C H
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
NATHANIEL Lord FIENNES,
One of the
Lord Keepers of the Great Seal of
E N G L A N D.

My Lords and Gentlemen,



HE Wiseman having propos'd this Question;
What can the man do that cometh after the King?
He answered himself thus, *Even that which hath
been already done.* And to the like Question at
this time, What can he say that speaketh after his
Highness? The like Answer may not be unfitly re-
turned, *Even that which hath been already spoken.*

Let me therefore crave your patience, while I eccho back again unto
you the same things, which even now you have heard from his High-
ness; things, which cannot sound too often in your ears, because they
cannot sink too deep into your Hearts; nor be too much upon your
Thoughts. You see, how the most wise God, the Supream Modera-
tor and Governour of all things, in the present Dispensation of His
Pro-

Providence, which we behold before our eyes, doth as it were checquer out His Work unto us, and seemeth to pave His way amongst us in Black and White. That which represents it self unto us in a sad and black colour, is the Death of his late Highnesse, of famous and of blessed Memory: That which appeareth unto us with a fair and promising Aspect, is the Succession of his present Highnesse to the Government of these Nations, by the Appointment and Declaration of his Father, in pursuance of the Advice of Parliament, and with the general and joyful Acceptation of the People, testified by so many their most affectionate Addresses; and that from most, if not all, Counties, Cities, Burroughs, and other Societies of men, of all sorts, professions and conditions: whereby it doth most manifestly appear, That what God spake unto them in that Dispensation, at such time as their hearts were full of doubt, fear and trouble, upon his Highnesse Death, was *a word fitly spoken, like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.* And now that his Highnesse hath called this Parliament of the three Nations, he standeth at the Head of this great and most honourable Assembly, the Representative of the three Nations, and is held forth to the World as a noble piece, beset on the one side, and on the other, with most rich and precious Stones, whereby much of price, and much of lustre is added to it. It is not my businesse to praise the dead, much lesse to flatter the living: But the things which I shall represent unto you, in relation to this alteration which of late the Providence of God hath wrought amongst us, shall be only such Considerations as have been remembered unto you by his Highnesse, and such as may minister fit matter for your thoughts to be exercised about, in order to the great Consultations for which at this time you are called together.

His late Highnesse, you know, and the whole World knows, was a Man of War, yet he dyed in Peace, and left these Nations in Peace at home, and Victorious abroad, and they are still (Gods Name be praised for it) in Peace, and in Peace they are brought to your hands; wherein his Highnesse, and the Nations have placed great confidence, and have great hopes, and expectations that they shall be safe, and preserved in peace: a thing so well pleasing to God, who is the God of Peace, and so acceptable to these Nations, who have sufficiently testified their love to Peace; and their longing after settlement: But that is not all, His late Highnesse not only left these three Nations in Peace, with, in and between themselves, but also in Unity; and as it was his

his and the late Parliaments worthy work and care to unite these three Nations into one Commonwealth, that they might be no longer thorns in the eyes, and goads in the sides of each other, as sometimes they have been (and as *Wales* formerly was, and as other Provinces in our neighbor Nations were unto them, till they found means to incorporate them into one body, and Government :) So his Highnesse held it incumbent upon him to bring them united to, and in this Parliament, according to the practice of the late Parliaments whilst they sate, and the expresse Declaration of their intention, That all Parliaments for the future should be Parliaments of the three Nations; and that there should be some Members to serve in them from, and for the three Nations; which Unity in the Supream Legislative Power, doth not only serve at present to prevent a mischief, and distraction, but may also, by the blessing of God, for the future, procure a full and perfect Coalition, whereby the breaches and sufferings of many former ages will be avoided, their desires and endeavours attained, and the fears of many succeeding Generations secured, and so at length a strong triple cord twisted together, which cannot be easily broken; I say which cannot be easily broken while it remains twisted together: but if untwisted, it may not only be soon and easily broken it self, but after each part will serve and help to break the other. In the next place, that which I shall offer to your thoughts upon this Subject, is, That his late Highnesse had it much in his heart to build the House of God, with the Courts thereof, and made great preparations for it. By the House of God, I mean the Church of God, by the Courts thereof, the true and pure Worship of God, and Justice and Judgement amongst men, This makes the outward that the inward Court of Gods House; and to all these his late Highnesse hath made very considerable Preparations.

As first, *David*, that sweet finger of *Israel*, was not more skilfull to beget Consort in Discord, and in tuning the severall and different strings of his Harp to a mellodious Harmony, then his late Highnesse was dextrous and wonderfully successfull in keeping Love between dissenting Brethren, and preserving a Christian Unity in a Christian and warrantable variety, which thing is a great preparation towards the building of that Spirituall House, whereof we spoke.

Another great Preparative was, The care he constantly took, that Godly and able Preachers and Ministers should be sent forth into all

parts; and before they were sent out, that they should passe the test and examination of Prudent, Learned and Pious Approvers.

A third Preparative was, The care he constantly took of the Universities and Schooles of good Learning, that those fountains might alwayes be kept clear, and that from thence there might continually issue a pure River of water of life, as clear as Christall, proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

A fourth Preparative was, The putting of such Persons in places of Trust and Power, which would be a countenance to Godly men and Godlinesse, and discountenance Atheisme and Profanenesse.

And lastly, As to the outward Court of Gods House, The Administration of Judgement and Justice amongst men, what were his desires and endeavours, and what his care from time to time to fill the Benches with able and learned Judges, we all know.

All these preparations, and many more, did his Highnesse make for this House, and all the materials thereof are so fitted, and squared before hand; by the humble Petition and Advice, and other good Lawes made by the late Parliament, that, by the help of God, there will be no need of any new hammering, nor that there should be heard the noise of any Hammer, or Ax, much lesse of Spear, or Sword, or any Tool of Iron, for what is to be further done in the building of this House. Such indeed that look upon the Petition and Advice with a partiall and prejudicate eye, or, as it may be distorted on the one side or the other in the execution thereof, may think there hath not been a right measure taken of many things, and that there is great need of running them over again. But whosoever shall well weigh the same, and look into it with a single eye, will finde, That both our Spirituall and Civil Liberties have been squared, stated, and defined therein with a great deal of care and exactnesse, and that according to the true nature of a Definition; That it is neither too Narrow, nor too Broad, neither too Long, nor too Short; That it hath not taken in any thing that should have been left Out, nor left out any thing that is Essentiall. I say this, as to the main, That no truly Godly men need to fear Persecution, nor any wilfull Sinners, of any sort, either in Faith or Practice, hope for Impunity: That no free-men need fear to be made Slaves; nor, That any mens lawless Liberty, under pretence of making all free, should indeed make all men Slaves.

But the Legislative and Executive Powers are so stated therein, in
rela.

relation to one another, and to their own parts within themselves, that neither may hinder, but each part help, the other ; and that none in either might have more or lesse power then is necessary for the good of the whole. And yet is there still behinde a great and a glorious Work, in the location and composure of these parts, though never so well fitted. The Execution of the Law is the Life, the Complement, the perfection thereof. The application of Things to persons, and of persons to things, and the right joynting and cementing of one part to the other, by a Spirit of love within, and establishment of due and necessary order without, will make this House to rise up into a strong, a perfect, and a beautifull structure and Fabrick amongst us ; to which much of care, and many provisions will be necessary. What then remains, but that his Highnesse and both Houses of Parliament, should set about this noble work, till they have brought it to perfection. That, as is fresh in your memories, and as you even now heard from that reverend Person who was the mouth of God unto you, Mercy and Truth may meet together, and Peace and Righteousnesse kisse each other, that Christian liberty may be preserved, without unchristian licentiousnesse, that Ministry and Magistracy, may be maintained and refined, and Learning and the Schools thereof so ordered, that they may continually supply the same ; and not be, as Abbies and Monastries sometimes were, either Nurseries of Vice and Idlenesse, or of Faction and Contention ; That Godlinesse may be set on the Throne and Profanenesse thrown out on the Dunghill ; That Law and Justice may be executed with Equity and Mercy, that neither Craft nor Cruelty may take advantage of the rigor of the Law, or of the hands of God to turn Judgement into Wormwood, and Justice into Gall : That Judgment and Justice may run down with a clear and swift Stream ; and if any Rubbish, Mud, or Weeds, through length of Time, be got into the Channel, it may be cleared by such carefull hands, as, in scouring the Channel, will take heed not to dig down the Banks, whereby an Inundation of Arbitrary Power and Jurisdiction, shall be let in upon the Nations.

In the last place, That which I shall offer to your consideration, is, That, if this Government, when it first sprang up in the hands of his late Highnesse, out of those dreadful Confusions which had covered the face of these three Nations, was readily embraced by them as a choice and hopefull Plant, though as yet but a tender one, and such as had but newly taken to the Soyl : with how much more reason may we now

expect, that it should be enabled to encounter the
Tempests, that may arise? being supported partly by its own proper
Firmnesse, through the good will and liking of the People, out of the
Experience they have had, of the Benefit they have received from it;
and the Peace and Tranquility they have enjoyed under the shadow
thereof; and partly by the acceſſion of Parliamentary Authority, both
paſt, and to come, which it cannot but much expect, and rely upon,
from time to time, and at all times, conſidering the great obligations
that their wiſdom and good affection to the welfare of theſe Nations,
and the Law by their oaths, and otherwiſe, hath laid upon them in this
behalf: So that it being ſo well rooted downwards, and ſo well grown
upwards, though poſſibly the boughs and branches thereof may be a
little ſhaken ſometimes, and moved one while this way, and another
while that way, yet there will be no danger of the trees falling, by
Gods grace, unleſs we have ſo far provoked his juſtice by our ingrati-
tude in general, and in particular for the mercy we have, and may ſtill
further enjoy (if it be not our own faults) under this Government, that
he ſhall ſuffer a Spirit of diviſion to run through the principle parts
thereof, that they fall one from another, and ſo at length fall one upon
another, and ſo at laſt fall down altogether, and then be troden un-
der foot, and that on all hands, and on every ſide, and with them the
peace of theſe Nations which they enjoy at home, and the honour and
renown which they have gained abroad; than which they never had
more then at this day, both far and near. But what ſpeak I of the
honor of men, when as the honor of God, and the ſafety and proſpe-
rity of his Churches and people, both here, and throughout all Chri-
ſtendom, doth ſo much depend upon the peace and conſiſtancy of theſe
Nations at this time, as in truth they do, as much, if not more, then
on all the Nations in the world beſides?

This is a great word which I have ſaid, but it is a true one, and if the
preſent ſtate, and poſture of affairs throughout the whole Chriſtian
world, be well weighed, and conſidered, it will be found that this is
no ſwelling vaunt, but a well meaſured truth. And becauſe it is ſo, no
doubt the grand Enemy of our Peace, becauſe he is the grand Enemy of
God, and his Church, will be very buſie at this time, with all his in-
ſtruments, and will caſt many miſts before our eyes. He is a ſpirit of
darkneſſe, of error, and miſtake, that he may become a ſpirit of miſ-
underſtanding and diviſion, and he is a ſpirit of diviſion, becauſe he de-
lights

he was a murderer from the beginning: But we are not ignorant of his arts and wiles, and what ever fair and beautifull shapes he appears in at the first, yet if we examine him to the bottome, from top to toe, we shall at length discover him by his divided, and diiding foot; and thence take warning to avoid him. We have also a wholsome, and Divine Council to preserve us from falling into his snare: That is, to hold the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace. What is that bond of peace? In a Moral sense, it is that triple knot of true love and good understanding between his Highnesse and the two Houses of Parliament. In a politique consideration, it is the constitution of our Government, whereby we have another triple Cord, besides that of the three Nations united into one Commonwealth, *viz.* the constitution of their Supream Legislative power, consisting of a single Person, and two Houses of Parliament; which Cord, while it is kept well twisted together, will be a great strength to it self, to the Nations, and to the people of God in these, and all our neighbouring Nations round about us. But if once it begin to unravel, and the two ends fall one from another, and from the middle, all will run to ruin. Therefore be very careful to hold fast the bond, and beware of all such as shall be picking at the knot, under what colour, or pretence soever, yea, though they promise never so much, and undertake to bind it up as fast, and in a better fashion then it was before. This tying and untying of the bond, and continuall seeking after new fashioned knots, hath put these Nations to much trouble, and into more danger. It is good to hold what we have, till we are sure to meet with that which is better; And of all fashion knots, the Nations will be worst satisfied with a Bowe knot, a sliding, a slip knot, which will be alwayes fast and loose; which every touch at either end will dissolve, and leave the Nations alwayes at uncertainty, alwayes in unsettlement. But the knot which takes in both ends, the top and the bottome, and joyns them fast together, and to the middle with a treble knot, and wherein each part helps to fasten the other, and the drawing of either end, draws all nearer and closer together; this will make a fast knot, a knot (by Gods blessing) like to hold, and to continue. And surely were there no other consideration but this (give me leave to repeat it, though I have said it once before) this alone were sufficient to make us keep close together, at this time, because we cannot fall in pieces, as things now stand abroad, but the whole Protestant interest, through-

For if we well consider how the Princes, and States in Germany, both the Upper and the Lower, and in the Northern parts of Europe, begin to state their Interest otherwise, and to take a different measure of their Confederacies and Alliances than formerly they have done; We shall find upon the matter but one single Bar that is considerable, to check the growing power of the Austrian Family in those parts, Whereunto it cannot long make head, Without support and help from others, and from whence only, any that is considerable can be expected, is not hard to judge. I shall not need to minde you of that which more nearly concerneth you (for it so nearly concerns you, that you cannot but be sensible of it) I mean the present condition of Affairs in relation to the Sound and Baltick Sea, and the great Forces both by Sea and Land, that look that way: And how far, and how soon this may bring to the Stake all the Materials wherewith your Walls must be upheld, (I say your best Walls, and the best in the World, though Wooden ones) I leave to your consideration: And how critical this very Spring may prove to the saving or losing of your Stake. Only this I shall say, should your Wings be once clipped in that kind, when you shall get up again to the pitch where now you are, none but He only, who only (and that too in an extraordinary way) can help you up again, He only can tell. On the other side, for the other branch of the House of Austria, (Which sometimes hath been, and may soon be again the terror and jealousy of the whole World) you know what Ballance it only hath, and upon what ticklish tearms it now standeth, and what friends he hath made, and what he further hopeth to make of old Enemies; and what advantages he hath, and still further hopeth to make of them, not only to your prejudice, and the endangering of your ruine, but of those themselves also in the end, whose helping hands, by inticements of present advantages, he endeavours to draw to his assistance, in the pulling down of their own Out-works and best Supports. It is true, he hath suffered some Breaches, and received some Wounds of late: but how soon, by the help of that vast Treasure which he draweth continually from the Indies (if he may bring it still quietly home) he may repair those Breaches, and heal up those Wounds again, Who doth not see? Some things are fitter for your thoughts, than your ears; therefore this I shall only say in general, that the opportunities which you have had, and yet in part have, to put your Interest and
that

that of your best Friends, in some measure in safety, may soon be lost, (if they be not already upon the wing) and then it may never be in your power to recover them again.

Therefore his Highness maketh no question, but that you will take these things into your speedy and serious consideration, and that you will think timely of the means of Defence and Offence in order thereunto.

The late Parliament having engaged in this War, very honourably made some considerable Provisions to carry-on the same, I say considerable with respect to our little World, out of which they were to be raised; though not proportionable to that great World, and those vast Territories and Dominions whereof our Enemy is possessed; and whereupon they vaunt themselves, that the Sun doth never set. But our comfort also on the other side is, That He that is our Sun doth never set, and He that is our shield will never fail us.

You will receive a particular Accompt, from those under whose Survey and care those things are, of the state of the Publick Revenue, and of the Forces both by Sea and Land, your inward and outward Walls under God; and as good as any in the World. But as all things which are good, are also costly, so can it not be expected but that the charge of them should be great.

His Highness hath assured you, that the Army (I speak of the Forces both by Sea and Land in the three Nations) is a good and faithfull Army, and will be ready to engage in every good thing and action, whereof no man either ought, or need to make question. His Highness hath further told you, that they are a patient Army, and when you see the Accompt of their Arrears, that will be out of question; and without all question God hath used them as singular instruments of his honor, and of the honor of these Nations: And as *England* by Gods mercy is now enlightned in the knowledge of the truth, it would well near venture a starving, (though God be praised that is not its case) then it would starve such an Army, in such a Cause, wherein the honour of God and of the Nation shall be concerned. This I think I may adventure to say in generall, that our preparations are not greater, then our Neighbours, though our Concern is every way as much, or more then theirs; neither are our debts greater then theirs, though we have had more occasion of expence, or full as much every way: And if our Income had answered the foot of Accompt, which the last Parliament went

went upon in their intended supplies, we had not increased much (if at all) the debt of the Commonwealth, neither had we exceeded our bounds, or not so much (by Gods blessing on our designs) as we have enlarged its Bounds and Territories; and that also, so advantageously, as not only the danger of Hostile Invasion, and Trade-destroying Pyracie is set at a further distance from us, but also much Honour abroad, together with safety and advantage at home, is thereby accrued unto these Nations.

Before I conclude, I must again reiterate that which runs so much in my mind, because it lies so much upon my heart; That upon the issue of your Counsels, and the peace and consistency of these Nations at this time, doth very much, if not wholly depend, the life, and breath of all the hopes, of all the expectations of the Churches of Christ, throughout the World. Since then there is so great a Trust reposed in you, so great a Price put into your hands, lay your hands upon your hearts, and lift your hearts up to Heaven, where your help, where our hope lies. His Highness hath fully expressed his high esteem of Parliaments, and his judgement of them, that they are the most adequate and commensurate Councils, to matters of so great and so high importance, and he doth as firmly resolve, that they shall enjoy all those great Freedoms and Priviledges which have been granted unto them, in order to those great ends; and his hope and prayer to Almighty God, is, that they may be made use of by you to those great and blessed ends, that all the three Nations; yea, that all the People of God every where, may rise up all together and blesse you, and that you may be blessed, and your names be a blessing to this and all succeeding Generations.

That is all that I have in charge from his Highness to say unto you, saving what particularly relates to the Members of the House of Commons: That they should repair to their House to chuse their Speaker.

FINIS.

